

< Sanskrit Kotāra 'the hollow of a tree; cave, cavity'. In Shina simple *t* is lost between vowels cf. *gāi* 'earthen pot' < Skt. *Chāṭikā*. Skt. *koṭāra* is also preserved in Hindi *khodār*, Oriya *korāra* a.o., Turner IA 3496. Bur. *kóori* 'boot' Sh. *kōore* (L235 B) seems to be derived from the same word.

2. Bur. *rūu* (with low rising tone) 'healing of wound, joining of edges of cut' Sh. *rú waiolki* 'to close, come together, of a wound' (L 304 b, *waiolki* 'to come') < Skt. *roha* 'rising mounting; growth, increase', for the meaning cf. *ksataro-hana* 'healing or closing of a wound'. The low rising tone in Bur points to the loss of *h*, cf. my article WZKSOA V (1961), p. 54. It is certainly to be assumed in the Sh. word too, but as usual not marked by Lorimer.

3. Bur. *yom* 'match, pair, duplicate; proper for, fitting for' (L385b) < Sh. **yom*? Skt. *yugma* 'adj. even (as opp. to 'odd'); n. a pair, couple, brace; twins'. Lorimer gives no Sh. equivalent, but the derivation from an older **yomma* is evident, cf. Prakrit *jumma* < *yugma*. *y* is retained in Sh. and not changed into *j* as in the languages of the peninsula.

4. Bur. *-yog* 'toilet, tilivating (includes washing and cleaning oneself and dressing up)' < Sh. *yuk thoiki* 'to swagger in new clothes etc.', Khawar *yug korik* id. (L392b), < Skt. *yogyā* 'useful, proper, fit for, etc.', or *yogyā* 'preparation, exercise, practice'.

5. Bur. *jigé* 'long, for a long time' (Sh. *jigo* 'long', *jiga* 'for a long time' (L 392b) < **driggho*, by Dardic metathesis < Skt. *dīrgha* 'long'. Bur. *jiek* 'extended, stretched out, prostrate, lying down' < Sh. *jék* (GB 169, L 217 b) is apparently related, but the details are not clear; Morgenstierne derives it from Skt. *drāghita* 'lengthened', but simple *-gh-* is not retained in Sh.

6. Bur. *kái* 'soup' < Sh. *kai* (L 230 b) < Skt. *kāñjika*, *-ka* 'sour gruel, water of boiled rice in a state of spontaneous fermentation', which itself is borrowed from Dravidian, cf.

Tam. *kañci*, Kanar. *gāñji* etc. 'rice-water, gruel', Burrow-Emeneau DED 927. For the treatment of *ñc* cf. *poi* '5' < *pañca*.

7. Bur. *kalamúto* 'base of external ear, flesh of ear' (L 227 a). Lorimer has no equivalent in Sh., but it may have been dissimilated from **kanamúto*, i.e. **kañéi múto*, 'thick of the ear', from *kon*, gen. *konéi* 'ear' (older **kan*) and a word corresponding to Hindi *mofa*, Panjabi *mofṭ*, etc. 'fat, stout, thick'. Sh. **móto* or **múto* 'fat' is perhaps also preserved in Bur. *mófis* 'very fat (said of small cattle)'; for the ending cf. *yaripis* 'poor fellow' from *yarip* 'poor' (< Urdu *yarīb*).

8. Bur. *bím* 'fright, threat, intimidation' < Sh. **bīm* (not in L) < Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful, terrific'. From the same stem also Bur. *bik* 'afraid, alarmed; fear, fright'; with a secondary *k*-suffix.

9. Bur. *chur* 'knife' < **chur* (L 102 a wrongly *čur*) 'small knife' < Skt. *ksura*.

10. Bur. *sújo* 'pure, sacred, holy' < Sh. *sujo* (L 317 b) < Skt. *sujāta* 'well born, noble, fine, beautiful', cf. *śjo* 'bad' in the Yas. dialect, formally < Skt. *ajāta* 'unborn', but with changed meaning contrary to *sújo*. In the HZ. dialect perhaps in *śajo* 'an exclamation of pain, groan' with exclamatory vowel lengthening.

11. Bur. *akás* 'misfortune, calamity', *sukás* 'good fortune, success' (not in L) < Sh. ? Another pair with the Sanskrit prefixes *su-* and *a-*. *-kás* can be phonetically derived from Skt. *karaṣa* 'drawing, dragging, ploughing'; thus *sukás*, *akás* might be possibly terms of agriculture originally 'easy (or difficult) to plough'.

12. Bur. *abás* 'difficulty, trouble, hardship, calamity, misfortune; difficult etc.' < Sh. *abás* (L 7 b), Bur. *subás* 'what is easy, propitious, favourable' (L 317 a) < Skt. *vasya* 'subdued, tamed, humbled; dutiful, docile, humble' + prefixes *a-* and *su-*.

13. Bur. acémo, fem. -i 'mischievous, dishonest person; rascal, villain, dangerous person' (L 8 b), from which acumé < *acémé, and Bur. sucémo 'honest, of good character' (L 3, 17 b), < Skt. ksema 'habitable, giving rest or ease or security; n. m. safety, tranquillity, rest, etc.' + prefixes a- and su-. suksema is attested in Skt., but only as a noun with the meaning 'great prosperity or comfort or peacefulness', whereas the Sh. word points to an adjective of the bahuvrīhi type. As kṣ results in ch in Sh., *sucémo would be expected. Perhaps Bur. acémo was influenced by acumé, where the loss of aspiration was regular due to the shift of the accent, and ç in Sh. is a mishearing for ch (cf. Lorimer's cūr 'knife' for *chur, > Bur. chur in Nr. 9).

14. Bur. śaṅ 'awake, aware; care, heed, attention' < Sh. śoṅ, śuṅ, ślaṅ (L 322 a, śoṅ also GB) < Skt. śaṅkā 'apprehension, care, fear, suspicion, doubt'. The form śaṅ, of which Lorimer's śaṅ seems to be but a mishearing for a strong palatalisation of ś, retains the original vowel; the o of GB remains unexplained, but it is found again in the derivative Bur. aśāṇō (my own notes), aśuṇō (L) 'by chance' < Sh. aśinā, aśināyo 'unexpectedly, accidentally' (with privative a-, L 31 b), where the same variation of vowel qualities is found.

15. Bur. pāyo 'wedge' < Sh. *pado < Skt. pataka 'a splitter, divider' from pāṭayat 'to split, cleave, tear etc.' Sg. *d, which was omitted between vowels only in recent times, is represented by i in Yas. Bur., and preserved as i in Phalura, a close relative of Sh. spoken in Chitral, cf. Sh. khāi 'shield' < *khetikā (Skt. khetaka), but Phal. Khēr. I. id. and Yas. khii 'shield'; here Hz Bur has already borrowed the later form without d (khii 'shield'). For Hz. pāyo, Yas. has pālo 'wedge'.

16. Bur. minā 'remains of kernels (after the oil has been extracted from them), oil-cake' > Sh. pino (L 266 a) < Skt. piṅgāka 'oil-cake'. Initial stop in non-stressed syllables is voiced in Bur., cf. giṣi 'line' < Skt. Kṛṣi 'ploughing',

Bur. baśā 'turban' < Sh. paśō < Skt. praśna id., etc. Interchange of m and b is very common in Bur.; it seems that originally m was only a variant of b before a nasal in the same word, cf. e.g. be 'what' against men 'who' for *be-m.

17. Bur. dúgo man' 'to envy, bear ill-will to' (not in L) < Sh. *dúgo < Skt. duṣṭa 'spoil, corrupted, bad, wicked, inimical, offensive, etc.'. Modern Sh. shows both retention and assimilation of ṣ, cf. miṣṭu 'good' < Skt. miṣṭa, but tútu 'full of stomach' < Skt. tuṣṭa, ṣṭ and tṭ become sṭ and ṣṭ in Bur. cf. diṣṭik 'brick' < Skt. iṣṭakā, d-asṭal- besides d-asṭal-, causative of d-tal-.

18. Bur. garōno 'bridegroom', garōni 'bride' < Sh. garōno, garōni (L 161 b and 162 a) < *gharaṇako, *gharaṇikā, cf. Pali gharaṇi 'housewife' from ghara 'house'. The intermediate stages were *garhaṇi and an analogical *garhano with metathesis of h which can be inferred from the low rising tone in Bur. (cf. Nr. 2); the o of the second syllable is due to umlaut in the masculine form (*garhano > *garhono, cf. Nr. 25). From this derivation it becomes clear that Sh. gar 'marriage' (> Bur. gar id.) is MIA ghara 'house', Sh. gar thoiki (Bur. gar ét-) meaning 'to make a (new) house (hold)'.

19. Bur. iomanacō 'without warning, suddenly' < Sh. iomanucō (L 393 b) 'dangerous, risky' by reduplicative repetition of the first syllable as in other words (e.g. choraachōr 'once upon a time' from chor 'early') < *iomanacō < *drommanaso < Skt. daurmanasya 'dejectedness, melancholy, despair' from durmanas 'in bad or low spirits, sad'. There is some difference in meaning, but as manas in Skt. also means 'thought, imagination', a meaning 'out of thought, hardly to imagine' for durmanas and its vyddhi form is quite presumable.

20. Bur. jāalo 'raft of inflated skin' < Sh. jālo (L 212 a) < Skt. jāla 'net, woven texture, web' from jāla 'net'. The specialized meaning shows that the Sg. word is independently derived from Skt. and not from Urdu jālā as Bur. jāal 'net' < Urdu jāl.

21. Bur. *tan, táno, tanéelo* 'bastard, base-born' (L 344 a, 345 a) < Sh. ? < Skt. *tanaya* 'family, race, offspring, child' with pejorative meaning. Sh. origin is cogently advocated by the doublet *tanéelo* which looks like a past participle from a verbal stem **tan-* corresponding to Skt. *tanoti* 'to extend etc.', also 'to propagate'.

22. Bur. *guśál-* 'to go wrong, be spoiled, become ruined' < Sh. *kuśúlo, kuśéelo* 'broken, damaged' (L 300 b), a past participle in *-lo* (cf. Nr. 21) from a Sh. verbal stem **kuś-* < Skt. *kusyate* from *kusnati* 'to tear asunder, to pinch, to force or draw out, to extract'.

23. Bur. *gunéeco* 'understanding, intelligent, competent, reflective' < Sh. *guneco*, according to Lorimer (173 b) 'a regular agent form' of *gunoiki* 'to think' < Skt. *gunayati* 'to multiply', perhaps influenced in meaning by *ganayati* 'to count, number, reckon; consider, regard as etc.'. It is interesting not only because of its stem but also because of the ending *-co*, apparently from Skt. *-tr* or *-trka* of which no trace is found in CB's grammar.

24. Bur. Hz. *paśoo, Nag. paśuu* 'the man who sees in a dream when the female demons kill a man by slaughtering a goat (not in L) from Sh. stem *paś-* 'see' < Skt. *paśyati* and a curious termination *-oo*, which is also found in Sh. *pasoo* 'turban' (CB p. 156, > Bur. *baśá* L 73 a) < **paśrōo* (?) < Skt. *praśna* id., and in *aśunōo* from *san*, see Nr. 14. From the verbal noun in *-an* (< Skt. *-ana*, cf. e.g. Sh. *maran* 'death' < Skt. *marana*) and the same ending *-ōo* also *paśanōo* (not in L), in Yas. Bur. 'row, uproar' (for the meaning cf. German colloquial *špektakel* 'show; row, uproar' < French *spectacle*).

25. Bur. *mōon* 'envy, jealousy' < Sh. 7 < Skt. *mana* 'opinion, notion, conception, idea; purpose, wish, design; self-conceit, arrogance, pride; consideration, regard, respect, honour; a wounded sense of honour, anger or indignation excited by jealousy (especially in women), caprice, sulking'. Umlaut with subsequent loss of final

-o is regular in *a*-stems, cf. Sh. *kon* 'ear' < Skt. *karno*, *don* 'tooth' < **dondo* < Skt. *danto*, etc.

26. Bur. *nīronaan* 'rainbow' < Sh. *neṛon* (L 277 a). The Sh. word has been derived from Skt. *indrādhanus* already by Turner IA 1577, but it has not been discovered as yet that also Bur. Nag. *biṛon* 'rainbow' < Sh. *biṛon* (L ib, GB 133) goes back to the same word. Its development was first: *indrādhanus* > **indrahanu* > **nīdrahanu* > **nījon*, then in Hunza the *j* of **nījon* underwent the regular change to *z*, whereas in the Nag. dialect there was a double dissimilation of the first to *n* to *m*, later also to *b*, -*an* in *nīronaan* is a common plural ending in Bur., but the length of the vowels of both -*aan* and *nī-* is not definite. *a* in Sh. *neṛon* seems to be but a phonetic variant of *j*.

Loanwords which have been borrowed from an older stage of Sh. or some other Indo-Aryan language.

27. Bur. *baśé* 'lightening; intense cold' (L 70 b) < Skt. *vajra* 'thunderbolt; diamond'. The metathesis or *r* would be typical Dardic, but the word is not recorded in Sh., and it is difficult to say whether it would have undergone further phonetic changes in the modern stage, for other examples of the consonantal group *-ir-* are missing in this language.

28. Bur. *thómāl* (L 355 a), Nag. *thóman* (not in L) 'smoke of burning juniper twigs inhaled by soothsayers' < old Sh. **dhuman*, cf. modern Sh. *dhūm* 'smoke' and Skt. *dhūmanā* 'the obscuration (of a planet)', also *dhūmayana* 'smoking, heat, fever'. Substitution of *n* by *l* in the Hz. dialect is due to dissimilation.

29. Bur. Hz. *remúzil* 'stone-marten' (L 303 b), Nag. *michír* (not in L), Yas. *ménzir* 'a kind of fur animal (similar to a cat)' (not in L), from a NIA form derived from Prakrit *mamjara*, *mamjara* 'cat' < Skt. *marjāra*. Old Sh. ? Modern Sh. *buśu* 'cat' (Bur. *buś*) is a recent formation of an onomatopoeic type common to many languages, cf. English *puss, pussy*. The *re-* of the Hz. *remúzil* is probably derived from Skt. *rohita* 'red'.

reddish; a red or chestnut horse'. In remízil there has been also dissimilation of the second *r* (< *re-mízil), and also of the second nasal (< *re-minzil).

30. Bur. tišk 'dagger' < Skt. śikṣā 'sharp, hot pungent, acid', with lexicographers also 'iron; any weapon'. If from Sh., which has to-day tiṣu, 'sharp (knife, scissors, razor)', bright, clever', it must have been borrowed at a very early time. šk for Skt. kṣ instead of the later Dardic development ch also in biškín- 'to beg' from Skt. bhikṣā, chikín- 'to complain, to bring an accusation against' < Skt. śikṣā, cf. G. Morgenstierne, NTS XIII (1942), p. 93.

Other loans of interest.

31. Bur. hórko 'plain, simple (of men), simpleton' (not in L) < Khovar horsk 'right, straight, true' < Iranian, cf. Yidgha urzuy id. < Avest. erezu, cf. Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages II, p. 192. It is interesting to find the same word as a loan nearly unchanged in Finnish Ugric, cf. Finnish hurskas 'righteous, pious', > Lappish hurskes 'fastidious, honest', cf. Schlachter, MSS Beihft A, p. 45.

32. Bur. bismān ét- 'to circumcise' < Sh. bismūn (L 83 a), bismūn (GB) 'circumcision', perhaps < Urdu bismillāh 'in the name of God', cf. Bur. bismillā ét- 'to say 'bismillāh' (preparatory to doing something)' and Yas. Bur. besmél ét- 'to slaughter'.

33. Bur. buyāt 'representation, petition', Sh. buyāt 'entreaty, petition, request' (L 90 b, GB). If < Pers. firyād, faryād 'an exclamation, cry for help or redress; complaint' (cf. firyād 'a complainant, plaintiff'), it must have been borrowed from Bur. into Sh., because the voicing of stops in non-stressed initial syllables is typical for Bur. (cf. Nr. 16) and not found in Sh.

NOTES

1. Grammar of the Shina (ṣiṇā) Language; consisting of a full grammar, with texts and vocabulary of the main or Gilgit dialect and briefer grammars (with vocabularies and texts) of the Kohistan, Guresi and Drasi dialects, by T. Grahame Bailey, London, 1924.

2. Lt. Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, The Burushaski Language, Vol. III: Vocabularies and Index, Oslo, 1938.

3. Cf. my two reports Anthropos Vol. 55 (1960) pp. 657-664, and Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research, No. 5, 1962, pp. 42-44. As Lorimer's transcription of Bur. words is inaccurate and unreliable, I shall use my own phonemic writing. (↑ above double vowels signifies the low rising tone, as in mōon 'jealousy', not noticed by L, ē is Lorimer's ts); the transcriptions of Shina words of both Bailey and Lorimer have been considerably simplified, because they contain many distinctions which are purely phonetic; vowel length is only marked if it is found in Bailey's grammar, for L is extremely unreliable on this point. (` marks the low rising tone).

Abbreviations:

- Bur. = Burushaski (Hunza dialect, if not specified otherwise)
 GB = T. Grahame Bailey's Shina Grammar, see N. 1.
 HZ. = the Hunza dialect of Burushaski.
 L = Lorimer's Dictionary of Bur., see N. 2.
 MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan.
 Nag. = the Nagari dialect of Burushaski.
 Sh. = Shina.
 Skt. = Sanskrit.
 Turner IA = R. L. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.

Turner Rep. = A Comparative + Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali language,
 Yas. = the Yasin dialect of Burushaski